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MAY DAY

The New York COMMUNIST

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May First

IN Soviet Russia the first of May is no longer a holiday in the sense that it is in other countries. The Russian proletariat has conquered. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is raising and equipping great armies, and hurling them against the Imperialist forces on all frontiers. Within the country, crippled as it is by the disorganization which inevitably succeeds war, and civil war in particular, starved by the invasion and blockade of Allied troops; inheritor of the collapse of Tsarism and Capitalism, and beset for a year by the ferocious hostility of Moderate "Socialism"—the Workers' and Peasants' Government is increasing industrial production, building railways, roads, canals and gigantic power projects, opening mines, and establishing thousands of new schools.

That it is able to accomplish these "miracles" seems incredible to the bourgeois. But to the Socialist there is nothing improbable about it. Capitalism obstructs development; Capitalism suppresses human aspirations; Capitalism is inefficient.

May Day, 1918, came at the darkest period of Soviet Russia's history, when the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had placed Russia at the mercy of Imperial Germany, then victorious in the West, and the Allies co-operated with the German advance eastward by landing troops in Archangel and Vladivostok, the beginning of a vast international offensive against the half-understood genius of the new Russian Government. Industry and transportation were almost at a standstill; food was scarce; and the Red army was still negligible.

Yet it was on that dark May Day that Moscow was decked with crimson, the young Socialist troops passed in review through the streets, and thirty-seven statues to the great dead of the international Labor Movement were unveiled. And the Government announced that May Day, as far as it represented the revolutionary ambitions of the Russian workers and peasants, would henceforth come to be celebrated as a holiday.

Today, May 1st, the darkness over Russia is slowly lifting. Except for minor setbacks, the Soviet armies are everywhere victorious, not alone with the weapons of war, but with propaganda.

In all countries the working class, which at first was apathetic, has awakened little by little to the real situation. A few months ago the workers of England, France, Italy and America were opposing intervention in Russia; now they want to know why the Dictatorship of the Proletariat cannot be applied to their own countries.

Never in the history of the world has an idea made such swift and thorough conquests. Amid the crash of bankrupt Capitalism falling, the work-

ers of country after country set up their Soviets and establish the Proletarian Dictatorship. Hungary, Bavaria, then Italy, Germany. . . . The great exploited masses of India, Egypt, China, stir and clamor. The beast of Finance-Imperialism, without which Capitalism is ruined, is crumbling. May Day for Russia is a holiday of the past. But today Moscow, Munich and Budapest flower in streets of red, and ring to the tramp of the proletarian battalions, making celebration for us—for the nations as yet pools of quiet water beside the torrent of the Social Revolution which rises, a red world-tide, and floods the face of Europe.

May Day, 1919. Date forever memorable, the world-wide blast of trumpets announcing the fall of a great social system, Capitalism, and the emergence of the age in which mankind will be truly free.

May Day. A summons to the worker-masses to make ready for the last great war. Dark lies the cloud of history, shot through with terrible lightning. But victory is inevitable.

Who Is Splitting the Party?

THE chief accusation against the Left Wing is that it is attempting "to split the Party." This is the banner of every Right Wing attack upon us; like "Bolshevism" in the capitalist press, it covers a multitude of sins. This charge has been hurled at every individual or group who has dared to differ with the Party leaders, or protest against their stultifying tactics.

During the bitter fight between Industrial Unionism and A. F. of L.ism, those who stood for revolutionary labor organization were reviled as "separatists" and "disrupters." The adoption of Article Two, Section Six, in the Party Constitution, by the Right Wing, drove the revolutionary elements out of our Party, separated it from the class-conscious workers, and threw it into the arms of the petit bourgeoisie.

The result of the internal strife is that there was the expulsion or resignation of a great number of revolutionary Socialists from the Party, and its complete surrender to "moderate Socialism." But the St. Louis Convention of 1917 removed Article Two, Section Six from the Constitution, proving that the rank and file realized what a disastrous course the Party had taken.

We, the Left Wing, representing the vast majority of the rank and file—who, no matter if at times they have been confused by the miserable tricks of Party politicians, are soundly revolutionary by nature—we have profited by the lessons of the past. We have no intention of being forced out of the Party by the Right Wing. We have no intention of "splitting the Party," not because we

are afraid of a split—for on a question of principle it is better to split and keep on splitting rather than compromise with reaction—but because we intend to capture the Party machinery and mold the American movement into an effective weapon with which to fight the battles of the working class.

It is for this purpose that we have organized into a group within the Party—the Left Wing; it is for this purpose that we have formulated a program and a set of principles, definitely opposed to the outworn principles and program actuating the present Party "ruling class;" this is why we have joined in the call for an Emergency Convention, in which we can state our position, discuss it in open Socialist debate within the ranks of the Party, and finally register the decision of the rank and file by means of the regular Party machinery.

To this perfectly legitimate course of action the Right Wing, in control of the Executive Committee of Local New York, opposes brutal strong-arm tactics.

Hundreds of workmen who want to join the Party are held up while a "committee" of miserable Socialist politicians catches them to find out if they have Bolshevik tendencies. As soon as a Branch has a Left Wing majority, and takes action to re-elect its delegates to the Central Committee, a minority of the "Old Guard" is empowered by the Executive Committee to "reorganize" that Branch, expelling most of the members, looking up the Branch headquarters, carrying off the furniture, and beating up delegates who protest. In carrying out these measures the Right Wing do not hesitate to appeal to the police for help. The 17th A. D. Branch has already been "reorganized" in this manner; out of more than four hundred members, only thirty-two have been accepted as orthodox enough to remain. The same action is being taken with regard to the 18th-20th A. D. Branch as we go to press. In all this there is not the slightest trace of legality. Gerber openly says that he doesn't care whether it is legal or not. His letter on another page of this issue will provide further illumination to the Comrades.

Who is splitting the Party—we, the Left Wing, who have announced our open intention of capturing the Party by means of the majority vote of the delegates of the rank and file in Party Convention assembled? Or the Right Wing in New York, which is disrupting Branch after Branch, disfranchising hundreds of Comrades, by illegal action of the Executive Committee? The Executive Committee has indefinitely suspended the meetings of the Central Committee, a superior body—because the Branches were electing a majority of Left Wing delegates to that body. And behind closed doors the Executive Committee functions, hurling bulls of excommunication against all Branches in which a Left Wing majority appears.

The fundamental difference between Left and Right Wings is summed up in the question of which International shall the American Socialist Party join. The Left Wing declares clearly for the Communist International, the Third International summoned by Lenin; all the sympathies and connections of the Right Wing are with the bankrupt Second International, which has played havoc with European Socialism much in the same way that the Right Wing has played havoc with the American Socialist movement.

These petty dissolutions and "reorganizations" of Branches in Local New York, these callings upon the police for help in internal Party differences, these suspensions of the Central Committee meetings, are perhaps in themselves of little importance in the world Socialist movement. But they are symptomatic of grave things. They point with fatal logic to the attitude of the Majority Social Democrats in Germany, who, in time of revolution, instead of calling upon the police for help, turned loose Noke and his machine guns against the Spartacists.

The following telegram to Eugene V. Debs, addressed to Minneapolis 1st, Minneapolis, Minn., by the delegates of the Third Convention of the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party, representing 6,000 members, was refused transmission by Debs' telegraphic company. The spirit of the message will be transmitted to Debs by word of mouth. Debs is one of the leaders of the eastern workers, not much known, one of the junky class of which he is a typical representative, can exercise no control. The physical message will, no doubt, reach Debs in the course of time. May Day seems on the horizon.

"Dear Comrade Debs:

The Third Convention of the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America sends you hearty proletarian greetings. The iron bars which divide you from us, at the same time hasten our common ideals, and strengthen our courage in the mighty struggle against capitalism.

"Your example, dear comrade, inspires us; and we promise you to follow your path in our proletarian struggle until we are victorious. We believe the victory of our common ideals is near. We believe that 'The day of the people has come.'

A Challenge and A Greeting

By Rose Pastor Stokes

MAY DAY—the day of Labor's International—and never before a May Day so thrillingly significant! Where once we hoped, today we realize; where once we yearned, today we fulfill; where once we only thought, today we think and act! Not all of us, everywhere, true; but for millions of us, the world's workers, the day of liberation has dawned.

For us here, how sweet-scented is this Day with the air of approaching freedom! From far lands in the old world is borne to us the new odor of the flowers of our long awaited Springtime—the Springtime of Humanity. And for the gift of this fragrance, from blossoms nurtured with the blood of Europe's revolutionary proletariat, we send them, in return, the electric current of our unshakable will—to be faithful and loyal to the true International.

From over the vast spaces we hear the voices of our Comrades. Over the still-budding birth of Liberty; over the world-filling clash of class will and class conflict; over the effort of the world's exploiters (hiding behind armies of confused workers—"facing" the aroused, irresistible hosts of the proletariat); over the battle of the losing Black guards against the winning Red Guards there comes to us, workers of America, a ringing call. In the accents of Shelley, in the meaning of Marx, millions of voices, mingling to one voice, cry to us:

*"Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth
like dew;
Ye are many, they are few."*

And we—no stir, we make answer. Hear us, Comrades. Catch the meaning of our message over the "wireless" of our world-encircling class-consciousness.

Yes! We are many, they are few. Yet we have slept. Yet we have allowed them to rob us of the common earth and the fruit of our hands; to bleed us white for their strength; to break us in our youth that they might have youth in old age; to draw the frail energies of our children and stultify the gates of industry in our men's faces for their profit. We, the many, who build all that is built, clothe all that are clothed, feed all that are fed, who carry and fetch, comfort and heal, educate and entertain, create and inform; we have suffered them, the few, to leave us ill-sheltered and naked, hungry and insecure, limited, sick and uncomfortable; unsought, unsatisfied, repressed, uninformed, while them we have enriched with all things.

We, the many, have suffered them, the few, to insult and betray us—to send us forth with the Judas-kiss of their hypocritical patriotism to kill our comrades and be killed; that they, the betrayers, might gain a few more bloody pieces of imperialist silver. We, the many, have permitted them, the few, to fatten us before the killing, for their gold's sake, and then for the sake of their gold to starve us at the very doors of our own granaries.

Like sheep have they driven us over the separating miles of creed, race, nationality. While they themselves welcome every faith and color and nation in an imperialist alliance against us, we have, ourselves, been divided by them into Jew and Christian; Black and White and Yellow; Teuton, Slav and Anglo-Saxon—Native and Alien.

We have been lured by a beautiful word made hateful with bourgeois hypocrisy; and turned deaf ears to the music of a phrase become sweet with the prophecy of proletarian power.

voice and vote who has the will to serve, and where the deliberate idler alone shall be disfranchised. In which enforced idleness of men and industry will be as rare as now it is, common; in which insecurity, that censors in your hellish civilization, shall disappear from the social body forever.

We shall become masters of our own destiny as today we are victims of your greed. We shall control all things that they, who create all things may profit thereby. We shall rear temples of

Berlin, October 31 st 1918

To the workers and soldiers of the entente!

Friends, Comrades, Brothers!

In the midst of the earthquake of the world war, of the chaotic collapse of the tsaristic imperialist society the Russian proletariat, in spite of misunderstanding, hatred and slander, has established its rule—the Socialist Republic of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants. It is the titanic beginning of the Socialist construction of the world, the work which constitutes now the historic task of the international proletariat. The Russian revolution has tremendously stimulated the revolutionizing process of the world's proletariat. Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary are already drawn into the struggle. The German revolution, too, is awakening. Still, tremendous difficulties are arising on the way to victory of the German proletariat. The bulk of the people of Germany are with us. The power of the most bitter enemies of the working class is breaking down. Still they are striving by means of lies and deception to chain the masses to their chattel and to put off the hour of the emancipation of the people of Germany.

And just as the imperialism of the Entente powers was strengthened by the robberies and murders perpetrated by German imperialism in Russia, we have the German rulers made use of the assault of the Entente powers upon Socialist Russia for the maintenance of their power in Germany.

Have you seen how a few weeks ago Kaiser Wilhelm II, who after the overthrow of Tsarism is the representative of the most infamous reaction, made use of the intervention of the Entente powers against proletarian Russia to arouse anew the war spirit of the masses of workers?

We cannot allow that such welcome opportunities for demagoguery be placed into the hands of our contemptible enemies—the most abominable enemy of the world proletariat. It cannot be that the proletariat of the Entente powers should allow such a thing to happen. Of course we know that you have already raised your voice against the machinations of your governments. But the danger is constantly growing. The united front of the world imperialism against the proletariat is becoming a reality in the case of the campaign against the Russian Soviet Republic.

It is to fight to prevent this that I am appealing to you!

The world proletariat cannot allow the hearth of the Socialist Revolution to be put out if it does not want to see its own hopes and power vanish. The downfall of the Russian Soviet Republic would mean the defeat of the world proletariat.

Friends, Comrades, Brothers! Raise your arms against your masters! Long live Russia of the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers!

Long live the revolution of the French, British, Italian and American proletariat!

Long live the emancipation of workingmen of all countries from the hell of war, exploitation and slavery!

From The Class Struggle

"We have allowed the Church, State, Press, Bourgeois to drag, suppress, confuse and swindle us—to undermine the foundations of our uprearing class solidarity, while diplomats and politicians have used us as pawns in their criminal game."

But even as "lions after slumber" we, in America too, are awakening. We too, are flinging our proletarian challenge into the teeth of our bourgeois sharks:

You have fed upon us and our wives and our children long enough! We shall take our common heritage, the land. We shall take the mills and the mines and the workshops; we shall take the roads and the wires and the ships. All that we have made and you have held we shall take. We shall establish an order in which none shall starve who is a willing worker and none shall eat who can work and will not; where each shall have a

Karl Liebknecht.

for you. Our hands that have been busy in your service shall become busy in our own. For you, we shall cease to labor. Against the power that resides in our unitedly idle hands you cannot prevail. To our general order "Tools down!" you may oppose the cry "To arms!" It will avail you nothing. Our forces are gathering. "We are many, ye are few!"

Yes, soon we shall have done toiling and starving, fighting and dying for you. Against your industrial chaos we shall oppose our industrial order; against your social rottenness we shall oppose our social sanity; against your war-breeding imperialism we shall oppose the fraternal interdependence of our Socialist Republic; against your Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie we shall oppose our Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This, despellers of the People, is our May Day challenge to you!

Art, Science, Learning for ourselves and our children as to date we have done these things for you alone. No longer as so, the "ignorant" and "uncouth," shall you fling the challenge of the culture with which we have labored to provide you.

We shall wipe out war and the cause of war. We shall wipe out the parasitism that, to exist, must find more and over more victims to feed upon. This May Day, we, the many, aroused and alert, reaffirm our solidarity with our brothers in revolutionary lands. You shall not use us to wage your predatory wars upon our own class. We solemnly vow, and give you warning, that never shall we become executioners of our own freedom, destroyers of our own hope, traitors to our own historic destiny, prison wardens of our own power!

Speak what sweet words you may, never shall you lure us with honeyed phrases; conjure up from your trick-bag of cunning diplomacy what scares you may, no racial, religious or nationalistic bogey shall frighten us. We have done. The spell is broken. We know the secret of all your black magic. Our seeing eyes are turned to the most significant, the most stupendous fact in all history: **THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ARE STRUGGLING SUCCESSFULLY TO THROW THE PARASITES OFF THEIR BACKS.**

You the few, have browbeaten us long enough. Your bullying must come to an end.

Soon we shall have done toiling and starving, fighting and dying

The Productivity of Russian Labor

From The Russian Soviet Government's First Annual Report

By A. Lomov

EXACTLY a year has passed since the proletariat by violent effort wrung the power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. A year of incessant, intensive effort by the proletariat to solve the problem of rehabilitating the disorganized apparatus of National Economy has passed.

The nationalization of the banks, the nationalization of industry, the regulation of the process of distribution, the transfer of industry to a peace basis, (the demobilization of industry)—all these reforms have radically changed the whole structure of national economy.

In what way, then have these reforms reflected on the general economic conditions of the country? Have they increased the national welfare or have they made it still worse?

The bourgeoisie and its "Socialistic" satellites, in resolute chorus, reply:

"The Soviet authority by its wild reforms has destroyed industry; that is why the productivity of labor has catastrophically fallen, and continues to fall. There is but one escape from this difficulty—a is necessary to call forth anew the bourgeois spirits and give them authority over production."

Not thus does the proletariat view the situation. It continues uncompromisingly to carry out its plan of the economic reorganization of the whole system of bourgeois economy on the basis of a Proletarian Dictatorship, and insists that the economic program of Communism has proven to be deeply vital and correct.

Which of the two is right?

Let us attempt to give our answer on the basis of an analysis of the material facts concerning the productivity of labor.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, we must make a few preliminary remarks. In recent literature, very often two conceptions are confused—the productivity of labor and its intensity. As is well known, however, there exists a wide difference between these two conceptions.

The productivity of labor, i. e., its ability in a certain time to produce a certain quantity of goods, depends not only upon the worker's skill and integrity, but also upon the means and tools of production at his disposal. Therefore, in the process of increasing the productivity of labor, tremendous significance must be attached to the condition of the means and tools of production, and the incessant and sufficient supply of raw materials and fuel.

In this respect, all the districts of Russia, thanks to the war and to the internal disorganization of the mechanism of exchange, were unable to repair and renew their industrial equipment. The impossibility of obtaining new machinery makes necessary the continuation of work in the factories with old, loosened machines; the inability to acquire new parts for them results in substituting parts approximately fitting, etc. All these have seriously disarranged the process of production.

The lack of raw materials and fuel, particularly after the occupation of the Donetz Basin by German and Ukrainian troops, aggravated this industrial ruin. Under such conditions the productivity of labor could not but decrease catastrophically.

Simultaneously with this, and with similar effect, proceeded the very rapid demobilization of factories—the transfer of production from a war basis to a peace basis, which the Soviet Government

had to carry out without previous preparation, immediately after its capture of political power. But even a gradual transition from one kind of production to another under normal conditions, is followed by a period of some disarrangement, adaptation to the changing conditions; it is ordinarily connected with the receipt of new supplies of raw materials, and particularly with the receipt of new machinery and tools of production. Under conditions, however, of insupportable world economic exhaustion, with an almost complete cessation of foreign trade and an immense decrease of the internal exchange, the situation was becoming worse and worse. If we add to this the acute lack in the means of obtaining raw material and fuel and of the paying of labor, then it becomes clear that for the proletariat to organize and carry on production under such conditions was a problem inconceivable in its difficulty and perplexity.

The reports and statistics from all factories in one voice point to the lack of fuel, to attempts at adaptation of new forms of it in connection with the transition, and to the lack of the whole series of parts and raw materials.

Reality often presents us with difficult peculiarities—a whole series of factories and mills are often incapable of putting out their full production as a result of the over-congestion of their storehouses; this is to be seen in a whole series of cement and textile mills, match and rubber factories have also complained of the congestion of their storehouses; the same complaint is often made even by our car and locomotive construction factories. Thus, the spokesman of the Kolomoysky factory in the May factory conference of mills supplying railroad equipment, brought forth the following data: "The output of cars is delayed by the fact that there is no place in which to store the finished product. . . . In the factory, cars stand in large numbers over the whole factory area; there are now more than 70 cars and 30 locomotives." Financial difficulties have been and are experienced by almost all factories. If delays in the payment of the bi-weekly wage which took place at the Kolomoysky factory, according to the evidence of the spokesman, have already caused much concern to the masses of workers and have greatly influenced the whole productive process, then what an influence would the non-payment of wages for a period of two months (Vikunsky factory) or the periodic payment of only a third of the wage (Kholodnyy factory) have produced!

The reports of the managements of the nationalized Petrovsky and Minskaya factories definitely emphasize this point. The management of the Petrovsky factories formulates its opinion on this question in the following words: "The management together with the factory committee has from the very beginning considered it its duty to increase the productivity of the factory, but all our endeavors in this direction could not be realized because of the lack of funds therefore, to increase the productivity of the factory appeared impossible." In spite of the seeming simplicity of this position, many comrades, not sparing of bourgeois economists, do not take it into consideration; and yet it is a fact that absolutely all factories, under extraordinary or specially difficult conditions, are suffering from great financial difficulties which bring serious delays to the productive process. At the present time the financial difficulties have been to a greater or lesser degree solved.

No less an influence on the productive process is exercised by supply. The Russian worker who, until the war, used an unlimited quantity of bread, cannot exist upon an eighth or a quarter of a pound of bread, and still, judging from reports and information, he cannot always figure even on this modest ration. And the worker everywhere was occupied, not only with factory work, but also with the food problem. At times a whole factory (Viksa) brought by the lack of bread to the last extremity, mobilized and sends out detachments armed with machine guns to obtain bread. There is no need of saying that a starving or half-starving worker is in general a poor worker; besides this, however, the insufficient and irregular bread supply breaks the continuity and organization of the productive process, by causing mass idleness (which numerically continued to grow in a series of factories of the Central district.)

At the present time, when we are successfully realizing the new harvest and are introducing everywhere the class ration, the situation may be considered much improved. The influence of this will be noticed in the factory work in the next few months. We shall not speak at all of the influence of the civil war upon the productive process when Minskaya, for instance, was twice occupied by Kaledin's Cossacks and the Ukrainians, and is now held a third time by the Germans; the same thing has also happened to the Petrovsky factories.

Under such conditions an increase in production can come about only as the result of a titanic struggle of the workers, as the result of an inconceivable sacrifice on the part of heroic masses of their personal interests for the triumph of the common cause. And none the less, it is exactly this process of increase that we are bound to admit on analyzing the figures of a whole series of factory reports.

Ordinarily, when it is attempted to prove a great decrease in productivity of factories, it is done in an extremely simple manner: figures are taken for the first quarter of the last pre-revolutionary years, and are compared with the corresponding figures of the present year; or it is done even more simply by merely taking the figures for Nov. and Dec. in a series of later years. The result is always the same; a colossal decrease of productivity is shown, and from that the inference is drawn of the immediately forthcoming catastrophe. None the less, not a single sane person ever doubted the fact that the greatest economic changes must temporarily affect production. And therefore, it is not important for us to know that after the proletarian revolution which has taken place in an atmosphere of extreme economic exhaustion, there was to be noticed a decrease in the productivity of labor. What is important is how the curve-line ran after the change. It is necessary to compare the figures of the several months following the change, gradually one after another, in order to discover the basic tendency which will enable us to draw a conclusion as to whether we have to deal with a decrease of the productivity of labor—as a permanent phenomenon under the present changed social structure of life—or whether it is merely a temporary condition. On the basis of this proposition, we will now submit some figures.

(To Be Continued)

A Moderate Socialist Legislator

In the Spring of 1918 a member of the Socialist Party was drafted and taken to Camp Dix, New Jersey, where he refused military service, claiming to be a Conscientious Objector. Instead of being classed with other Conscientious Objectors, this Comrade was seized, after tea, when the rest of the camp was asleep, and driven into the Guard House, where the officers in charge threatened to beat him up. When he protested, he was told that he was entitled to no consideration from the authorities, because he was a Socialist; the officer in charge informed him that if Socialists were given consideration, they would do in this country what they had done in Russia.

Having refused to salute an officer, this Comrade was then starved and again threatened. He replied that he had not signed any enlistment papers, and was therefore still a civilian. He then appealed to the "Socialist" Congressman, Meyer London. The following letters, signed by Congressman London's secretary, are illuminating. It will be noticed that the writer ignored the Comrade's contention that he was still a civilian, and addressed him as "Private —"; thus helping to fix his military status:

Meyer London, 12th Dist., New York

House of Representatives U. S.
Washington, D. C.

May 6, 1918.

Priv. M.,
153rd Depot Brigade,
Guard House, No. 2,
Camp Dix, N. J.

Dear Comrade:—

Under separate cover I am mailing you a copy of the Official Bulletin containing the President's Proclamation with regards to the rights and duties of conscientious objectors. You will realize, if you have not done so already, that there are rules and regulations governing the conduct of men in the military service, and also, that there are punishment provided for any violation of those rules and regulations.

Fraternally yours,

MARK LEWIS, Secretary.

June 2, 1918.

Priv. M.,
12th Battalion, Guard House,
Camp Dix, N. J.

Dear Comrade:—

I regret very much that I did not make myself sufficiently understood in my reply to your communication.

Your case will not be taken up here. Your immediate superiors have entire jurisdiction in a case such as yours.

I have mailed you an additional copy of the President's Proclamation concerning conscientious objectors, and also, supplementary instruction issued in the same connection.

Fraternally yours,

MARK LEWIS, Secretary.

At the same time the Comrade wrote to Roger Baldwin, of the National Civil Liberties Bureau—not a Socialist organization. And almost immediately he received the following answers, which furnish a glaring contrast to those quoted above:

National Civil Liberties Bureau,
20 Fifth Avenue, New York

May 7, 1918.

Mr. M.,
Camp Dix, N. J.

Dear Mr. M.:—

Your letter of April 30th, addressed to the Call

has been referred to me, and I have asked to have inquiry made as to your sentence to determine whether it is in accordance with the orders of the Secretary of War. I knew something ago of your having been placed in the Guard House, but I have such confidence in Captain Termini's good sense and judgment that I didn't feel like calling it to the Department's attention. I would write him now about it except that I believe army regulations require any complaints of this sort from citizens to be made directly to the Secretary of War.

Sincerely yours,

ROGER BALDWIN.

June 2, 1918.

Mr. M.,
Camp Dix, N. J.
Dear Mr. M.:—

THE Left Wing organization has decided to support the following nominees and asks all revolutionary Socialists to do likewise:

For the National Executive Committee, 1st District: N. I. Hourwich, N. Y., Edward Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y., Louis C. Fraina, Boston, Mass.
For International Delegates: J. E. Ferguson, Chicago, Ill., John Reed, N. Y., Louis C. Fraina, Boston, Mass., C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, O.

Additional Locals and Branches that have joined the Left Wing:

Kansas City, Missouri
Local Tonawanda, New York
Lithuanian Branch, No. 19, Kings
Branch Ridgewood, No. 2, New Jersey
German Federation of Kings and Queens Counties
Spanish Branch, New York
17th A. D. Branch, New York
18th A. D. Branch, New York

The following Left Wing mass meetings and open air demonstrations on May 1st:—

Queens County at Queens County Labor Lyceum, 8 o'clock.
Astoria Local, 450 Broadway Astoria, L. I., 8 o'clock.
5th Russian and Ukrainian Branch, Rutgers Square, 2 o'clock.
Jewish 2nd A. D., Forward Hall, 8 o'clock.
4th A. D., Kings at headquarters, 9 o'clock.
Branch 2, 6th A. D., Kings (Jewish Branch), open air, 2 o'clock.
14th A. D., Kings, at Bridge Plaza, Grand St. Ext., 7 o'clock.
9th A. D., N. Y., 10th Street and 2nd Avenue, and Houston Street and 2nd Avenue, 2 o'clock.
17th A. D., N. Y., open air, 2 o'clock.

There will be a general rally of the Left Wingers of the 23rd A. D. on May 1st, at 12 o'clock before the Brownville Labor Lyceum in order to form a unit of the Left Wing for the parade that will take place during the afternoon.

All Left Wingers are urged to gather and present a strong front.

On Sunday, April 28th, the Eastern District Convention of the Hungarian Federation of the Socialist Party, adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program. This is the third District Convention of the Hungarian Federation to join the Left Wing. There remains only one District, the smallest, which is in the west, and which, up to this time, has not had an opportunity to vote on the question. The Manifesto and Program will be submitted to the rank and file of the Hungarian Federation through

Thanks very much indeed for yours of June 2th. I am glad to know that you have been released from the Guard House, and now have the freedom of the camp with the other objectors. I may be down at the camp within the next week or ten days, and will certainly look you up.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ROGER BALDWIN.

Thanks to the Civil Liberties Bureau the Comrade was finally released.

This is only one of the counts in the long indictment of the Congressional representation of "the most advanced and resolute section of the work class parties." Nevertheless, the Right Wing in Local New York renominated him at the last election.

Left Wing Notes

out the United States in the form of a referendum. MINUTES OF REGULAR CITY COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE LEFT WING SECTION, HELD APRIL 27, 1918.

Chairman, Grynos

Minutes of the last meeting read and adopted. Minutes of the membership meeting read and credentials submitted, and the following delegates seated.

Left Wing Group, 23rd A. D. Dr. E. Kings Co.—Wm. M. Beck
Lithuanian Br. 19 10th Left Wing delegates Yarek, Zelenka, also contributions \$10.
Minority Group L. W. Br. 2, 2nd A. D. Kings Co., David Aber.

5th Russian Ukrainian Br., Schwartz and Maiterlich.
German Br. 2 Ridgewood, Catshak and Reichert.
Motion carried to have roll call by giving congress-arms lists of delegates who must sign on arrival at meeting, and if any fail to attend, branches be notified.
Kessler acted temporarily for 2nd A. D. pending regular election.

Herman seated improperly for Br. 4, 16th A. D. Kings. Motion carried to take up instructions of membership meeting after Executive Secretary's report.
Executive Committee's report (minutes):
No Left Winger shall debate on platform with Waldman. Leaflets submitted by Russian Branch be turned over to Special Committee of 5.

Motion carried to elect committee of five to comply with recommendation of Executive Committee's minutes—Hammer, Wilenkin, Larkin, Gosor and Schachter elected.
Motion carried that the secretary should not receive applications for membership with reservations.

Committee from the 17th A. D. asking for 120 chairs for which they will pay later. Carried.

Motion carried not to hold any special meeting but to supply speakers to meetings arranged by the branches.

Following nominated for City Committee:
Lovestone, 12th A. D.; N. Hourwich, Russian Br.; M. Cohen, 8th A. D.; J. Brodsky, 8th A. D.; K. Brodsky, 8th A. D.; F. Horowitz, 8th A. D.; J. Brodsky, 23 & 10th A. D.; E. MacAlpina, 25 & 10th A. D.; Kessler, 2nd A. D.; Hirsch, 2nd Jewish Br.; Michaels, German; Langsickel, 7th A. D.; Chaychick, Ukrainian Br.

Following nominated for City Committee from Brooklyn:
Lindgren, Weinstein, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Miller, Dr. Miller, Zucker, Wisniewski.

Executive Secretary's report:
Requests that all volunteer speakers for May 1st mobilize at headquarters.

Motion carried that all Left Wing branches recall all R. W. officers. Adjourned for 2 weeks.

F. Horowitz, Recording Secretary.

HELP THE 17th A. D.

Refurnish Its Headquarters

One day after the furniture, including the electric wires, was stolen by the leaders, the members of the branch succeeded in holding a meeting in their headquarters. The next day they received word that the furniture would be returned, but they united in the reply, that now they wanted neither the furniture nor the leaders.

At the present time they have only a few old chairs and a set of beautiful new electric lights. They need about five hundred dollars to refurnish the headquarters.

Will five hundred Left Wingers donate One Dollar each for this purpose?

Send no mail to the headquarters. Address all communications to Julius Codkind, 133 E. 97th Street.

International Notes

Italy

THE Italian Socialist Party, the most powerful party in the country, has for the past two months been passing through a crisis which has divided it into two factions—for and against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Prampolini, Turati and other parliamentary leaders have flatly refused to support the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, declaring themselves to be against bloodshed, and considering revolution unnecessary to accomplish "the few reforms the workers need."

"Violence is a crime, and futile," Prampolini declares in a recent article in *Avanti*. "There is another way. We say that the bourgeoisie is a minority, still they rule. We can rule, and the way to rule is to conquer the majority with propaganda."

Lazzari, secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, stands for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In an answer to Prampolini, in a subsequent issue of *Avanti*, he writes under the head, *Violence and Dictatorship*:

"Our fathers have taught us that the Social Revolution is not coup d'état, but that the maturity of certain conditions call into action the revolution, which is necessary for changing the social relations between men. We remain faithful to this teaching. If the bourgeoisie chooses violence as the last defense of its privileges, we will use violence to consolidate the rising power of the proletariat."

While this discussion is raising another question of more immediate tactical importance—the question of participation in the forthcoming national elections—is engaging the attention of the Party branches. *Il Soviet*, Naples, official organ of the Party in Southern Italy, opposes participation. "To accept the elections, today, means the spending of our energies for the continuation of the bourgeois institutions we need to destroy. . . . The revolutionary conquest of parliament is today unavoidable. Every electoral action, now, is futile and dangerous and is better left to the bourgeoisie. The Party must not take part in the elections."

On account of the crisis brought about by these two questions the Socialist Party called a convention at Rome, in which it was decided that action was necessary and that the Party should call mass meetings to propagate the general strike for the release of all political prisoners, the withdrawal of the troops from Russia, the ending of the Tripolitan War and the immediate demobilization of the army.

The general strike started in Milan, Rome, Turin, Bologna and many other big industrial centers, resulting, in many places, in civil war. The government is using the question of Fiume to revive the hysteria among the masses and thus stampede the revolution. It will use Fiume for political purposes in the coming elections, and by this means the revolution may for a short time be postponed, but it cannot be averted. The forces which create revolution are active and the state is in complete bankruptcy.

Another general strike is called for May Day and all over the country; the workers are meeting for action. On the result of these demonstrations depends the immediate future of the revolution in Italy; if the government can survive May Day the revolution may be delayed for some months.

The Party has decided to sever connections with the reactionary Second International and align with the Third International on the basis of the Bolshevik call.

Ireland

The National Executive of the Irish Labor Party has issued a call for a general strike on May Day. It is not clear whether it is proposed to have a one

day strike for the general purpose of demonstrating Irish labor's solidarity with their comrades throughout the world, or whether May 1 is to see the initiation of a general strike aimed against the government. The reactionary independent unions of Belfast, whose leaders were responsible for breaking the recent general strike in that city, have suggested that labor down tools on May 3, giving as the reason that Saturday falls on that day and is a half holiday. Commenting on this action the *Voice of Labor*, official organ of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, believes that the rank and file in Belfast will stand with their brothers for May 1.

A new factor in the Limerick situation, which has developed since the National Executive Committee issued its call, and it is believed that Irish labor will now utilize May Day for a nationwide strike in sympathy with the Limerick Soviet strike.

England

Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, sent the following message calling for a May Day strike to the *London Daily Herald*:

"As one actively associated with the Triple Industrial Alliance, let me congratulate you upon the stirring appeal in the editorial today to that organization to decide upon action, swift, sharp and stern. The Triple Alliance and the Labour Party are asked immediately to summon an industrial Parliament to grapple with the present situation.

The Labour Party Executive has passed a strong resolution upon the terms of the Miners' resolution submitted to the Labour Party's League of Nations Conference. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, however, is standing directly in the way of the wishes of the organized work-people of the country. Organized workers are determined that conscription should be resisted by every possible means, but the Parliamentary Committee, as its name would indicate, believes in lobbying and deputations.

"This matter of conscription concerns all organized workers, both outside and inside the Triple Alliance. Labour is accustomed to demonstrate on May Day or on the first Saturday or Sunday in May, according to varying circumstances. Labour

should make up its mind to take the same action in this country as was taken by organized labour in Ireland when conscription was about to be thrust upon the Irish people. Let us, therefore, commence by doing as Ireland did, and have a universal stop day on May 1.

"The Miners' Federation ago already pledged to a general stoppage for one day upon the first Monday in May. Perhaps the Miners' Conference at Southport, to be held on Tuesday and Wednesday, will give a lead to organized labour by declaring their stoppage shall take place on May 1.

"We must all now choose between Karl Marx and Winston Churchill. It is quite possible that if the Miners' Federation make strong representation to the Triple Alliance that body will back the Miners' action. It would therefore be incumbent upon all trade unionists to consider favorably such a powerful lead as they would be offered."

"In every trade union, there are resolute and courageous men who are as bitterly opposed to conscription as the Miners. Unfortunately for the members of these other organizations there is not such strength of character at the head of affairs as there is with the Miners. The whole of the organized workers of Coventry, it is reported, have determined upon this action. The workers of Britain want a lead; here is their opportunity. Do not let us demonstrate in a wishy-washy manner for the Workers' International while Winston Churchill and his associates want to prepare two million bayonets to suppress the Workers' International throughout Europe."

The National Executive of the British Labor Party formulated a statement of its policy at the League of Nations Conference held in London in the first week in April. We reprint the statement in part:

"The Committee have also considered the Conscription Bill now before Parliament to be unnecessary, and a direct violation of election pledges given by responsible Ministers at the last general election, and demand its withdrawal.

"The Committee have also taken the Russian situation into special consideration, and, in the name of the politically-organized workingmen and Labour movement, reiterate their demand that the policy of military interference in Russia shall be stopped forthwith.

"They regret that the inability of the Government to make up their minds regarding their attitude to Russia has meant that British soldiers have been left practically isolated in Murmansk and Archangel, and exposed to attack; the Committee express an emphatic opinion that an arrangement should be made which will lead to the immediate cessation of hostilities and the safe withdrawal of British troops from Russian soil.

"The Committee have also considered the continued retention in prison of political and military offenders, including Conscientious Objectors, and declare that an amnesty should be granted at once."

Spain

The preparations for concerted action by the Spanish workers on May 1, have so alarmed the government that the workers have been mobilized as soldiers to carry on essential services under military law in the event of a general strike.

South Africa

The Johannesburg municipal strike is ended, with the "commutation" of the 48-hour work for the whites. Native labor is receiving the lock, jail, and casual labor.

In Time of War

By Louise Bryant

*With wonder I read
Of those to whom this war has brought new
Love and faith in their fellows,
For my soul that had these things
Is slowly become desolate
As the hillside after the passing of the lumberman.
Pitiful with the wreckage of splendid visions
I sit idle, barren,
My restless hands pass over the little things of life
Seeking,
But that which once commanded them to create
and would not be denied,
Ade nothing of them.
My eyes become cold,
They rest indifferently on the dissolution of battle-
fields,
On the dead heaps of those who carried the unborn
visions of the future.
But my foolish ears still listen
For what they once hoped to hear,
For the one thing that could give them back their
faith,
The revolution of the armies of the world.*

A Window on the World

The Military Situation in Russia

The capitalist press is again reporting a collapse of the Soviet Government's front on all sides, and that Lenin and Trotsky are again packing the old trunk with gold and baggage, preparing to evacuate to neutral countries.

By a careful reading of these same papers, however, one discovers the following facts:

The French, abandoning all stores, are rapidly leaving the Crimea; only a handful of soldiers are still guarding the dockyards, in order to try and save the French battleship *Mirabeau*, which was laid up for repairs and cannot get to sea again.

A dispatch from Krasnoyarsk, Siberia, reports that "a large Bolshevik force is endeavoring to cut the Siberian railway line east of Krasnoyarsk." This is news. Krasnoyarsk is half way across Siberia. According to previous dispatches, Siberia was free from Bolsheviks six months ago; and yet here we find a "large force" operating "east of Krasnoyarsk." Of course if the attempt to cut the Trans-Siberian succeeds, that will be the finish of the Kolchak armies, the Allied forces and the Tchekho-Slovaks in the Urals.

Since a dispatch from Warsaw more than a month ago announced that General Peltura had made an agreement with the Russian Soviet Government, and that the joint Russian and Ukrainian armies were fighting the French in the Crimea, we fail to understand what is meant by the reported surrender of the Bolshevik First Army to Peltura's Ukrainian troops.

The only military reverses suffered by the Soviet armies in the last three weeks which appear to have any foundation in fact are a withdrawal of twelve miles on the Murmansk front, and the evacuation of the village of Sterlitsmak, near Ufa.

Fortunately we have the story of an American reporter, published in the *Globe* of April 23d, of the Sterlitsmak affair. It sheds light upon the methods of warfare employed by our "allies" in Siberia.

"We covered twenty kilometers a day," he says, "always pushing the Reds back on Sterlitsmak, and, when Communists fell into our hands, treating them like assassins."

After the solemn promises of the British and American Governments to withdraw their troops from Russia, it is interesting to read about the new Allied "offensive" in the North, and the openly expressed hopes of the Allied commanders to be able to effect a juncture with the Siberian forces of Admiral Kolchak as soon as summer comes. This is a continuation of the well-known Allied strategy of the "crab-retreat," illustrated by the Tchekho-Slovak "withdrawal" of last year, when the noble Bohemian troops, bound for Vladivostok, suddenly found themselves going West toward Moscow.

Crawling Out of a Hole

The capitalist press, with its uninterrupted publication of filthy falsehood about Soviet Russia, finds itself in danger of complete reversal through the large volume of correct information which is beginning to leak into this country, even through official sources. It must therefore get itself into a position to be able to meet the facts.

A recent Associated Press dispatch from Copenhagen, the Father of Lies, reports that "on account of the attitude of the people, the Decree on Nationalization of Women has been suspended by the Soviet Government in certain provinces."

Now comes the *Globe*, with an editorial on the Lenin interview recently published.

"Lenin says definitely and for the first time in today's interview that the majority of the Russian workmen and peasants today consciously adhere to

the principles of Bolshevism." Is he right? On the answer to this question hangs the fate of the world to a degree the importance of which it is hard to overestimate."

This is correct. Lenin is right—has been right ever since he stated the same fact more than a year ago.

The newspapers had better get a move on!

Out of the Frying Pan Into the Fire

The *Times* of April 26th reports the arrival at Genoa, Italy, on the British warship *Lord Nelson*, of several Russian Grand Dukes, Grand Duchesses, and the Dowager Tsarina Marie Feodorovna, all formerly massacred by the Bolsheviks. The Dowager Tsarina has gone to England at the invitation of Queen Alexandra, where she will doubtless be granted a pension from the pockets of the grateful British tax-payers. The rest of the nobles, twenty-seven in all, are pretty active, considering how they were thrown into wells and bombs dropped on them. They are bound for Monte Carlo.

Italy is our idea of exactly the wrong place for a Russian Grand Duke to land these days, with its frontiers closed on account of "revolutionary disturbances." But then, where can a poor royalty go?

The Rights and Wrongs of Small Nations

Mr. Wilson has just refused to grant Fiume to Italy, on the ground that it belongs, by ethnologic and economic right, to the new Yugo-Slav State, and must serve as commercial outlet to Hungary, Bohemia and Rumania—which are, as he says, "among the smaller States whose interests are henceforth to be safeguarded as the interests of the most powerful States."

In the meanwhile the Serbians are forcibly abolishing the independence of Montenegro, with the help of Italian and even American troops, and adding it to the Yugo-Slav territory under the hegemony of Serbia.

On April 26th the press reports that President Wilson delivered himself of a statement about Egypt, where the people, rising against British rule, are being massacred in the streets of Cairo.

In a note communicated to General Allenby, British Special High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, the President recognizes the British protectorate over Egypt, which was proclaimed during the war on December 18, 1914. The note proceeds:

"The President and the American people have every sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Egyptian people for a further measure of self-government, but they view with regret any effort to obtain a realization of those aspirations by a resort to violence."

Apparently it depends upon the size of small nations whether they shall get Mr. Wilson's sympathy—and also, who's the oppressor.

The hypocrisy of "deploring violence" in the struggles of people seeking political freedom, just after a colonial war "to free the world," is too evident to need emphasis.

The Telescope

THE new Covenant of the League of Nations constitutes a definite victory for the forces of light over those of darkness. Just consider the provisions made for labor. A permanent committee; one-third of whose members will be elected by Labor, one-third by Capital and one-third appointed by the Governments; will be set up to deal with labor problems. Labor will thus always be a strong minority.

No wonder the Bolsheviks are losing their grip!

Another victory for Democracy lies in the exclusion of Mexico from the League, which will enable any power, so disposed, to restore law and order in that country without running up against the League.

Of course if two powers differ on the law and order, the League will intervene and doubtless arrange a joint expedition.

In view of the frequency with which the Right Wingers are calling in the cops to preserve Party unity, we suggest that an appropriation be made out of Party funds to buy police whistles.

We learn that a new office has just been created in Local New York—nominations are now in order for Official Locksmith.

We understand that charges are being preferred against Aldermen Calman for using non-union moving vans in "reorganizing" Party Branches.

Advertisement:—The Left Wing is in the market for second-hand Branch furniture—preference will be given to Socialist Officials who have a surplus on hand, or pawn-tickets for the same.

It is rumored in Paris that the Peace Conference has removed the furniture from Orlando's headquarters, and has put a 45 frank lock on the door.

Unlike the Peace Conference, the Rand School has decided to recognize the Bolsheviks—The New York Communist is again for sale at the Bookstore, and Right Wingers can now have their daily hate without leaving the premises.

We are pleased to announce a victory for the Left Wing principle of Party ownership and control of the press—we learn that a weekly humorous paper, ironically called *The Socialist*, is shortly to be issued. It is rumored that it will be controlled by the Executive Committee of Local New York, who in order to show their impartiality will finance it out of Party funds accruing from the sale of Das Stamps to Right and Left Wingers alike.

Ben Gitlow has been indicted by a prominent member of Local Bronx and will shortly be dragged before the grievance committee. It is believed that the charge is Bolshevism.

England has just borrowed \$75,000,000 from Spain. Spain has decided that in future she will spend her money as she gets it. Easy come, easy go.

The rent situation reminds us of an old Irish story:

Agent: I'm going to raise your rent, Murphy.
Murphy: That's fine. I was just wondering how the devil I was going to raise it myself.

Left Wingers!

Come and be surprised!

at the REORGANIZATION Entertainment and Dance to be held by the 17th A. D., at its Headquarters, 1536 Madison Avenue, near 104th Street, on Saturday evening, May 2nd.

PURPOSE:
TO CELEBRATE THE
REORGANIZATION

Admission

25 Cents

The Pink Terror

II. The Pilgrimage of the 18-20th A. D.

HAVING tipped the policeman who safeguarded the looting of the 17th A. D.'s headquarters, and dusted off the moving-van with which the crime was accomplished, the Right Wingers met once more in the crypt of the Rand School. No longer were they obstructed by Democracy—the Central Committee had been indefinitely adjourned. Nothing remained which could hamper the free use of brass knuckles upon the persons of the rank and file.

A Committee was appointed to suggest ways and means for Preserving the Unity of Local New York. It was finally decided that the only way to preserve the Party intact was to expel most of the members.

The Comrade chairman of the Committee on Porch-Climbing reported that he considered it no longer necessary for his Committee to operate, since the Minutes of the Left Wing meetings were now openly published in the *New York Communist*. Committee on reading *The Communist* was then appointed.

Casting about for the next Branch to destroy, the 18th-20th A. D. was selected. This Branch lies next to the 17th A. D. whose demise we recorded last week. It has always been a particularly harmonious Branch, all meetings being conducted in the best of good feeling. However, the bacillus of the Left Wing had been infecting more and more of the Comrades, until there was a clearly a Left Wing majority in the Branch.

At the regular business meeting of the Branch on April 11th it was decided to hold new elections for delegates to the Central Committee, to take place at the next business meeting, on Friday, April 25th.

The next meeting was perfectly orderly. Both sides had mobilized all their supporters, and the hall was crowded. The Right Wingers, headed by Jacob Hillquit—who, although he lives in the Bronx, is treasurer of the Branch, which is in Harlem—declined nominations for the Central Committee.

The Branch is entitled to six delegates. Eight candidates were nominated; and the six Left Wingers were elected. Dr. Aronson, the highest, polled 68 votes, and the two lowest, 47 votes apiece. Comrade Merkel, a Centrist, who said in the debate that the Left Wing "should be given a chance to show what it can do," was nevertheless defeated.

The unanimous action of the Right Wingers showed that there was some sort of scheme on foot, so after the meeting the Propaganda Committee proceeded to copy the records of the Branch, for fear that Alderman Calman and his moving-van might sweep down and carry them off.

Alas! Their forebodings were only too well founded. The next morning somebody broke open the door, jimmied the Financial Secretary's desk, and took away the records, which were afterward returned to the Branch by a small boy. That evening when the Yipsels came to headquarters for their regular meeting, they discovered the door fastened with a triple-bar Siegel lock costing nine dollars—the nine dollars evidently being receipts from the sale of dues-stamps; and window fasteners on every window. These had been placed there by the Executive Committee.

The Yipsels broke into the hall and began their meeting. Immediately a delegation of Right Wingers appeared, headed by Ex-Assemblyman Karlin, and composed of Shillb, Extract, Shpritzer and a friend who was not a Party member. Shillb threatened to fight one of the Yipsels, while Karlin threatened to have the Yipsels arrested for breaking and entering. After the Yipsels' meeting was over, the Right Wingers again locked the hall, this time using an ordinary lock. (The item of expenditure

for padlocks must now be fairly large on the books of Local New York.)

On Sunday, April 27th, the Left Wing members of the Branch held a meeting in headquarters, and

One Reason for an Organization Within an Organization

The following letter was sent by Julius Gerner, Executive Secretary of Local New York, to a few carefully-picked Right Wingers. The italics are ours. Some of the words of the Conference are not printed.

New York, April 19, 1919.

Dear Comrade—
I am calling a conference of party members to meet at the office of Local New York on Monday evening, April 21st. We will meet at 9 P. M. People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

The situation in the party is rather critical at this time, and it is almost too late now to stem the tide.

We ought to be clear among ourselves what we will, or can do. The so-called Left Wing is determined to either capture or split the party. What the capture of the party by the Left Wing means ought to be evident to any one who has watched their performance.

On the other hand, it is worth while for the sincere Socialist to keep the fight up? While we are fighting among ourselves there is no work for the party. Our energies, our time, and the money is wasted in the fight among ourselves.

A split in the party will at this time do irreparable injury to our party and to the cause, while the control of the party by these irresponsible people will make the Party an outlaw organization, and break up the organization.

Tuesday evening, the Central Committee meets. At this meeting the tide will be cast as far as Local New York is concerned. We ought to decide before hand. We ought to know what we are to do.

The reason the Left Wing has grown and is making converts is because they have an organization that does nothing else. They have their organs that give their side. They act as a group while we have neither organization, nor press. (The Call should not be used for factional purposes) and our comrades act as individuals. *Results is chaos on our side, organization, discipline and success on their side.*

As the official of Local New York, I have tried to do the party work regardless of faction, have tried as much as possible to keep factionalism out of the party. But the time has come when I have a duty to the party, and my duty compels me to call this conference to lay the situation before the party members.

I have for myself decided as to my course and my action but I feel I have no right to do anything without the knowledge and consent of my comrades. My comrades, who with me have helped to build, maintain and held together our party and for this reason I am calling this conference, and I hope you will come. Come about 9 P. M. at the Executive Committee meet that evening and we will meet soon thereafter.

I know this may inconvenience you. I know you are out nights and perhaps will have to be out again Sunday at the Central Committee but believe me this matter is of importance enough so that you can miss an hour's sleep and put up with a little inconvenience.

Sincerely,

Julius Gerner.

decided to allow the Executive Committee to remove the furniture or take any other illegal action they pleased, but not to submit to the reorganization or dissolution of the Branch without a vote of the

majority of the members. The names and addresses of those against the action of the Executive Committee were taken down.

In the middle of this, Extract, Shillb and Shpritzer entered. Shpritzer said, "Take my name. I want to join the Left Wing." He was referred to 45 West 20th Street, where we eagerly await him.

Shillb then remarked that at Monday evening's meeting of the Executive Committee, the business of "reorganizing" the 18th-20th A. D. would be taken up; and that on Tuesday evening, April 29th, a meeting to "reorganize" the Branch would be held at Harlem Terrace Hall, on 104th Street, between 2nd and 3rd Avenues.

Afterward, however, Shillb denied that he had said this, but announced that he was going to prefer charges against the Propaganda Committee for breaking open the Financial Secretary's desk.

By the time this paper is off the press, we expect to hear that the 18th-20th A. D. has been thoroughly "reorganized," and that the great majority of the rank and file has joined the Party Broad-Line.

What further atrocities have the Semi-Comrades in store for us? By what machinations do they intend further to locate the poor, bleeding Left Wing? Time, and the next issue of *The Communist*, alone will tell.

Socialist Politicians Please Answer

THE columns of this paper are open to Right Wingers to reply to this editorial in the *New York Times*—which is, so far as our knowledge goes, the only intelligent editorial which ever appeared in the *New York Times*:

The Socialist Congress at Paris on Tuesday voted, by a majority of 594, that it was willing to join the Second Internationale provided that those who were Socialists only in name were excluded. But the Congress drew a line against the Third Internationale, that is Lenin's, and a motion to adhere to it commanded only 270 votes. The denunciation of the Bolsheviks is good reading, and far be it from us to say anything in their defense. The dictatorship of the proletariat is hateful. But why should the Socialists denounce it when presented by the Third Internationale, forgetting that it was the fundamental and eternal proclamation of the First Internationale? In the words of the Communist Manifesto, never repudiated by any Socialist authority:

The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class . . . wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie . . . by means of despotic measures on the rights of property.

The first use of the authority of Socialists by the First and Second Internationales was to adhere to the program of "consent of the public power by the proletarian organized as a class party." Admittedly, there are some precedents chargeable to the Bolsheviks, but who can say that they have not conformed to the first requisite of orthodox socialism?

Who are the First or Second Internationales, that they should point the finger of scorn at their brethren guilty of excess of zeal? Excess profits, tax discrimination against the too rich, construction of railways and banks—these are not the touchstones of socialism, whether they be good or bad. In short, socialism is not social reform, and there is equal need of discovery of all the Internationales, as well as the Third, by those who are restless for property. The denunciations of the Third Internationale as a caricature of socialism are themselves guilty of the same fault, unless they disavow the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "consent of the State," and the concentration of capital. These things are not denied because those who practice them are guilty of other "excess." In the words of Lenin, in the interview called to the *Times*, in which he returned adhesion to the platform of the Internationale as ground shown. There is too much selling under false colors.

Either a Socialist believes in the class struggle, the expropriation of the expropriators, and lines up with the Bolsheviks and Communist movement of Europe; or he joins the Second Internationale (now defunct) and definitely allies himself with John Spargo, Scholten, William English Walling, J. P. Morgan and Samuel Gompers.